

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC DECLARATION: AMENDMENT TO PARAGRAPH 11

REF: STATE 122767

1. AMBASSADOR DE ROSE (FRANCE) CALLED MCAULIFFE ON THE MORNING OF JUNE 12 TO SAY THAT FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES HAD REVIEWED PARAGRAPH 11 (STATE 122767) AND HAD INSTRUCTED THE FRENCH DELEGATION IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL TO PROPOSE SOME CHANGES IN THE TEXT. DE ROSE SAID THESE PROPOSALS HAD COME PERSONALLY FROM SAUVAGNARGUES.

2. IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION WITH FRENCH DEL, FRENCH DCM CARRAUD OFFERED FOLLOWING FRENCH AMENDMENTS IN SECOND SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 11: DELETE THE WORD "AND" FOLLOWING THE WORD "FRIENDSHIP"; ADD THE WORDS "AND SOLIDARITY" FOLLOWING THE WORD "EQUALITY"; DELETE THE WORDS "AND BASED ON THE PURPOSES THEY SHARE"; DELETE THE WORD "TO" BEFORE THE WORD "STRENGTHEN" AND SUBSTITUTE THE WORD "WILL"; DELETE THE WORDS "THEIR COMMON" AND SUBSTITUTE THE WORD "THE"; ADD THE WORDS "OF THE ALLIANCE" FOLLOWING THE WORD "INTERESTS"; DELETE THE WORDS "USING ALL APPROPRIATE MEANS AND". SECOND SENTENCE WOULD THUS READ AS FOLLOWS: "IN THE SPIRIT OF THE FREINDSHIP, EQUALITY, AND SOLIDARITY WHICH CHARACTERIZE THEIR RELATIONSHIPS, THEY UNDERTAKE TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED AND WILL STRENGTHEN THE PRACTICE

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OF FRANK AND TIMELY CONSULTATIONS ON MATTERS RELATING TO THE INTERESTS OF THE ALLIANCE, BEARING IN MIND THAT THESE INTERESTS CAN BE AFFECTED BY EVENTS IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD."

3. CARRAUD STRESSED THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL POINT WAS THE CHANGE OF THE WORDS "TO STRENGTHEN" TO "WILL STRENGTHEN". IN THE FRENCH VIEW THIS WAS ESSENTIAL IN ORDER TO AVOID A MANDATORY UNDERTAKING OR "COMMITMENT" REGARDING CONSULTATION. THE FRENCH COULD ACCEPT AN UNDERTAKING TO KEEP EACH OTHER INFORMED BUT THEY WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY IN GIVING AN EQUALLY STRONG ENGAGEMENT ON CONSULTATION. HE NOTED CONSISTENT FRENCH PREFERENCE FOR ELEMENT OF NATIONAL JUDGEMENT.

CARRAUD SAID THAT SAUVAGNARGUES HAD REMARKED AT THE NINE'S MINISTERIAL MEETING IN BONN THAT CONSULTATION SHOULD BE A NATURAL AND CONTINUOUS PROCESS AMONG ALLIES AND SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS A LEGAL OBLIGATION. NO CONTRADICTION TO THIS VIEW HAD BEEN OFFERED BY THE OTHER FOREIGN MINISTERS IN BONN. CARRAUD THOUGHT THAT THE OTHER AMENDMENTS WERE PROBABLY NEGOTIABLE AND HE WAS NOT IN THE POSSESSION OF A DETAILED RATIONALE AS TO WHY THE CHANGES WERE MADE. THE WORD "SOLIDARITY" WAS MEANT TO SUBSTITUTE FOR THE DELETED PHRASE "BASED ON THE PURPOSES THEY SHARE" AND HE THOUGHT THIS WAS LARGELY A LINGUISTIC CHANGE. HE BELIEVED THE REFERENCE TO THE INTERESTS OF THE ALLIANCE INSTEAD OF THE COMMON INTEREST WAS TO AVOID THE IMPLICATION THAT INTERESTS WHICH TWO OR THREE ALLIES MIGHT HAVE IN COMMON IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD BUT WHICH WERE NOT SHARED BY THE 15 WOULD STILL BE APPROPRIATE SUBJECTS FOR CONSULTATIONS IN NATO. MOREOVER, USING THE WORD "ALLIANCE" WOULD TEND TO PUT THE EMPHASIS ON SECURITY MATTERS TO A SLIGHTLY GREATER DEGREE THAN WOULD BE THE CASE IF THE DECLARATION SIMPLY SPOKE OF "COMMON INTERESTS". CARRAUD NOTED HOWEVER THAT THIS SAME PARAGRAPH WOULD ALSO SPEAK OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION SO THAT HIS POINT ABOUT USE OF THE WORD ALLIANCE SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN AS AN ABSOLUTE RESTRICTION ON THE SCOPE OF NATO CONSULTATIONS. HE THOUGHT OMISSION OF "USING ALL APPROPRIATE MEANS" WAS BECAUSE ITS MEANING WAS NOT CLEAR.

4. MISSION DISCUSSED FRENCH AMENDMENTS WITH UK (LOGAN) AND THEN WITH NETHERLANDS (BUWALDA). LOGAN THOUGHT THAT THE MAIN DIFFICULTY WAS THE CHANGE OF THE WORDS "TO STRENGTHEN" TO "WILL STRENGTHEN" WHICH WOULD BREAK THE SENTENCE INTO TWO PARTS.

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HE PERSONALLY WOULD PREFER TO DELETE THE WORD "UNDERTAKE" AND USE THE VERB "WILL" AT THAT POINT. THUS THE CLAUSE WOULD READ "THEY WILL (VICE UNDERTAKE TO) KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED AND STRENGTHEN THE PRACTICE OF, ETC". MISSION ASKED CARRAUD INFORMALLY LATER WHETHER THIS CHANGE WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO PARIS. AFTER TALKING WITH DE ROSE, CARRAUD SAID THAT FRENCH DEL COULD NOT JUDGE WHETHER THE CHANGE WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE BUT THAT DE ROSE WOULD BE PREPARED TO RECOMMEND IT IF IT WOULD HELP PRODUCE AN AGREEMENT.

5. BUWALDA (NETHERLANDS) SAID THAT THE MAIN PROBLEM FOR THE NETHERLANDS WOULD BE THE CHANGE OF "THEIR COMMON INTERESTS" TO "THE INTEREST OF THE ALLIANCE". HE THOUGHT THAT THE FRENCH

MIGHT BE WILLING TO CHANGE THEIR POSITION ON THIS AND HE WOULD PUSH STRONGLY FOR SUCH CHANGE. HE THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE NO SERIOUS PROBLEMS ON THE OTHER CHANGES.

6. IN SPECIAL NAC MEETING (DETAILS IN SEPTTEL) HELD LATER IN THE MORNING, DE ROSE INTRODUCED THE PROPOSED SECOND SENTENCE FOR PARA 11. LOGAN MADE THE SAME SUGGESTION RE DROPPING "UNDERTAKE" IN NAC HE HAD MADE TO MISSION PRIVATELY. HE ADDED THAT HE THOUGHT IT DESIRABLE TO RETAIN THE PHRASE "USING ALL APPROPRIATE MEANS" WHICH, HE NOTED, WAS THE VESTIGE OF A LONGER AND MORE MEANINGFUL PHRASE. BUWALDA SAID THE HAGUE HAD INSTRUCTED HIM TO SAY THAT THE NETHERLANDS COULD ACCEPT THE FRENCH AMENDMENT OF "WILL STRENGTHEN" VICE "TO STRENGTHEN." HOWEVER, THE HAGUE WAS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO USING FORMULA "THE INTERESTS OF THE ALLIANCE".

7. BELGIAN AMBASSADOR (DE STAERCKE) AND NORWEGIAN CHARGE (SELMER) SAID THEY THOUGHT TEXT U.S. HAD CIRCULATED ON JUNE 11 WAS EXCELLENT AND BOTH THOUGHT LOGAN'S REVISION OF NEW FRENCH SECOND SENTENCE WOULD HELP TO RESTORE THE ORIGINAL SENSE OF THAT SENTENCE. A/SYG PANSA THEN SUGGESTED THE DELEGATIONS SHOULD ASK CAPITALS FOR INSTRUCTIONS ON FOLLOWING BASIS: ALLIES WOULD ACCEPT TEXT OF PARA 11 INTRODUCED BY U.S. ON JUNE 11; WITH THE SECOND SENTENCE THEREOF READING AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE IN THE SPIRIT OF THE FRIENDSHIP, EQUALITY, AND SOLIDARITY WHICH CHARACTERIZE THEIR RELATIONSHIPS, THEY WILL KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED AND STRENGTHEN THE PRACTICE OF FRANK AND TIMELY CONSULTATIONS ON MATTERS RELATING TO THEIR COMMON INTERESTS,  
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USING ALL APPROPRIATE MEANS, AND BEARING IN MIND THAT THESE INTERESTS CAN BE AFFECTED BY EVENTS IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD. UNQUOTE AMBASSADOR DE ROSE SAID HE WOULD TRY TO GET AN ANSWER TO THIS PROPOSITION BY 1530 BRUSSELS TIME TODAY.

7. NAC WILL RESUME AT 1530 TODAY, JUNE 12. REQUEST GUIDANCE BY THAT TIME, IF POSSIBLE, ON REVISED SECOND SENTENCE PARA 11 QUOTED IN PRECEDING PARA.  
MCAULIFFE

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